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A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως

Charlotte Roueché

RECENT EXCAVATIONS at Aphrodisias in Caria,¹ in particular since 1972, have revealed to the east of the Theatre a large piazza surrounded by colonnades which was remodelled at several periods. The latest phase of this piazza appears to be of the fourth or fifth century (we know from a recently discovered inscription that substantial work was done in the piazza under Julian), and several statue bases of the late Empire have been found in the area; two are *in situ*, and others have been found built into the Byzantine wall which blocked off the Theatre from the piazza when the acropolis was fortified.

Of the two surviving bases which stood just east of the Theatre with their inscribed faces towards the piazza, one is badly damaged, but the other is almost complete, and the statue which stood on it was found beside it. This statue is about to be published,² accompanied by a very brief note on the inscribed base. The purpose of this article is to describe and discuss this base more fully.

The rectangular base of Aphrodisias marble (height 1.01 meters, width 0.48, depth 0.60) with upper and lower moulding is almost certainly reused; a half-moon, in relief, remains on the far side. The base stood, rather awkwardly, on another base cut down to receive it. The first line of the inscription is on the upper moulding. The letters, which are irregular and inelegant, average 4 cm in height (PLATE 1).

¹ For the current excavations at Aphrodisias, conducted by Professor Kenan Erim of New York University with the generous help of the National Geographic Society and many other benefactors, see the annual reports in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, as well as the bibliography in the *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976). I am preparing an edition of the late Roman and Byzantine inscriptions from Aphrodisias and assisting in the preparation by Miss Joyce Reynolds of a corpus of inscriptions from the site.

² In *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei*, by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum and J. Inan (Berlin 1979). The statue is now on display in the Aphrodisias Museum, and the base is in the Museum garden.

[(cross)] Ἀγαθῇ (cross) Τύχῃ (cross)
 Τὸν ἀνανεωτὴν
 καὶ κτίστην τῆς μητροπό(λεως)
 καὶ εὐεργέτην πάσης
 Καρίας Φλ(άβιον) Παλμᾶτον
 τὸν περίβλ(επτον) ὑπα(τικόν) κ(αὶ) ἐπαίχο(ντα)
 τὸν τόπον τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου)
 βικαρίου Φλ(άβιος) Ἀθηνέος
 ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) πατὴρ τῆς
 λαμπρ(οτάτης) Ἀφροδ(εισιέων) μητροπό(λεως)
 εὐχαριστῶν ἀνέθη-
 (vacat) κεν (leaf)

Flavius Palmatus was named in another inscribed monument, presumably from Caria, but not found (*Anth.Pal.* 16.35):

Μνήμονες οἱ Κᾶρες πολλέων εὐεργεσιᾶων
 Παλμᾶτον (Παλμᾶν *edd.*) ἰθυδίκην τόσσον ἀγασσάμενοι.

L. Robert pointed out that this epigram almost certainly derives from an inscription honouring a late imperial governor of Caria, and so probably at Aphrodisias;³ Alan Cameron, in studying the manuscripts of the *Planudean Anthology*, showed that the original reading was *Παλμᾶτον*.⁴ Caria was still governed by a *praeses* at the time of the redaction of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (ca A.D. 400) but was under a *consularis* by the time of the composition of the source for Hierocles' *Synecdemus* (in the 440's).⁵ It is attractive to associate such upgradings of provincial governorships (which are typical of the late Empire and appear unrelated to changes in the importance of the particular provinces) with a change in emperor or of ministry, and a consequent wish for senatorial support; but in Theodosius II's long reign it is difficult to identify any one particularly appropriate moment which could serve as a *terminus post quem* for our inscription. A definite *terminus ante quem* must be Justinian's *Novel* VIII, of May 536, which abolished the vicariate of Asia. The inscription reflects

³ *Hellenica* IV (Paris 1948) 14, *cf.* 148–49.

⁴ *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1974) 194.

⁵ For the date of the *Notitia Dignitatum* see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* II (Norman 1964) 1417–21 [*hereafter*, Jones, *LRE*]. For the date of the *Synecdemus* and its sources, see Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² (Oxford 1971) 514–21. The material is summarized in *LRE* 1451–61.

the withering away of that office, and Justinian's legislation seems merely to have legalized the *status quo*; by 536 the vicariate appears to be held regularly by the governor of Phrygia Pacatiana (τὸν βικάριον τῆς Ἀσιανῆς, ὄντα δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα τῆς Πακατιανῆς Φρυγίας; so Jones, *LRE* 374). Our inscription presumably reflects an earlier stage in this process, before the vicariate came necessarily to fall to the governor of Phrygia Pacatiana.

It would be tempting to try to draw a conclusion about the date from Palmatus' title περίβλεπτος (*spectabilis*). The governor of Caria is referred to as λαμπρότατος ἄρχων in 426 and as μεγαλοπρε(πέ)στατος κόμ(ης) κὲ ὑπατικός under Anastasius,⁶ but neither of these usages allows definite conclusions to be drawn. The Anastasian governor very probably had another, more specific, rank as well as μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, which was omitted in the curtailed style of this milestone inscription. As for Palmatus, he may well have been περίβλεπτος by virtue of his office of deputy vicar rather than by virtue of being *consularis* of Caria.⁷

Palmatus is called, with the standard rhetoric of the late Empire, ἀνανεωτής, κτίστης and, in the epigram, ἰθυδίκης. L. Robert has shown all of these to be typical epithets of the period.⁸ Εὐεργέτης is common at all periods. Palmatus' benefactions to "all Caria" were sufficient, apparently, to earn him two statues, one put up by the Carians; this suggests that the expense was met by the provincial assembly, from their own funds (however these were raised).⁹ Our statue, however,

⁶ For the first, H. Grégoire, *Récueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie mineure* I (Paris 1922) 242 [hereafter, *IGC*]. For the second (Flavius Iohannes), G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 50 (1955) 138–39, no.54 (*SEG* XVI 694), and *Bullep* 1958, 444. See also *IGC* 236 (Bean and Cook, *op.cit.* 106, no.33 [*SEG* XVI 665] with *Bullep* 1958, 443).

⁷ Dr J. R. Martindale comments that the evidence "appears to show that only in the West under the Ostrogoths were ordinary provincial governors automatically of *spectabilis* rank (and this may be due to defective evidence); otherwise, all governors who were *spectabilis* held that rank by virtue of some other title (usually that of *comes*, although the nature of the *comitiva* may vary)." The governor of Phrygia Pacatiana became *spectabilis comes* when he absorbed the functions of the vicar of Asiana in 536.

⁸ On ἀνανεωτής see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII (Paris 1960) 24–25; on κτίστης see *Hellenica* IV 116 and *Bullep* 1956, 317; on ἰθυδίκης see *Hellenica* IV 13ff.

⁹ On the provincial assemblies, see Jones, *LRE* 763–66. "The Carians" also erected statues to Aelia Flaccilla (Th. Reinach, *REG* 19 [1906] 110 no.30 [*ILS* 9466, *IGC* 280]; cf. Robert, *Hellenica* IV 14) and to the governor Helladius (*MAMA* VIII 531, with *Hellenica* XIII [Paris 1965] 157); further fragments of this latter inscription have been found during the excavations, to read:

Τῆς μεγάλης ἀρετῆς τοῦτον μέγαν ἡγεμονῆα
Ἑλλάδιον [Κ]ᾶρες στῆ[σα]ν [ἀ]μφιβόμ[ενο]ι.

gives the appearance of having been put up, almost as in the good old days, by an individual, Flavius Athenaeus, the *πατήρ τῆς πόλεως*.

It is L. Robert, again, who has helped to clarify the use of this term.¹⁰ The honorific titles 'father', 'mother', 'son' and 'daughter of the city' were given to benefactors of the cities in the classical period, but titles of this kind fell out of use with the diminution of civic benefactions in the late Empire. In 465 a law of Leo I (*Cod. Just.* 10.44.3) declared: *Si quis vero ex his omnia decurionum munera vel functiones vel honores nulla imminente necessitate, sed sua sponte peregerit, eum pro sua liberalitate patrem civitatis, in qua voluntarius municeps apparebit, si hoc ei libuerit, fieri constituique hac lege decernimus*. It is an interesting indication of the loss of independence by the late Roman cities that a law should be considered necessary to allow them to offer such a title. It is quite likely that Leo's law, like so much late Roman legislation, in fact was inspired by existing piecemeal practice, itself based on a memory of the earlier usage. The title appears, however, to accompany a function which is more specific than the *liberalitas* of Leo's law. From the fifth century onwards, the title *πατήρ τῆς πόλεως*, and even the verb *πατερεύω*, are found quite frequently in inscriptions and in the laws. It may be useful to collect these examples here.

Among inscriptions, the following are known to me. While a few can be dated with some precision, the majority reflect the current state of the epigraphy of the period and are dated only within a margin of one or two centuries by editors.

APHRODISIAS

(1) (cross) ἐπὶ Φλ(αβίου) Φωτίου *χο(λαστικοῦ)* καὶ πατρός (cross). Letters 3 cm. This new inscription is cut on the lower rim of a marble 'game-board', as is the similar inscription published by Reinach (*REG* 19 [1906] 297 no.213, whence *IGC* 264): (cross) ἐπὶ Φλ(αβίου) Φωτίου *χο(λαστικοῦ)* (cross). Late fifth or sixth century.

(2) An inscription cut on the northeast gate at Aphrodisias, published most recently by Cormack (*MAMA* VIII 427, citing earlier publications), dates the repairing of the gate ἐπὶ Φλ(αβίου) Ἀμπελίου τοῦ ἐλλογιμ(ωτάτου) *χο(λαστικοῦ)* καὶ πατρός ἰνδ. η' (cross). A new fragmentary inscription on the rim of the Odeon stage at Aphrodisias, referring to work done on the Odeon in almost identical terms, refers to a *χο(λαστικός)* καὶ πατήρ whose name is lost, but who is very probably also Flavius Ampelius. Fifth century.

¹⁰ See in particular *Hellenica* IV 130 and n.6; *RevPhil* 32 (1958) 50.

(3) L. Robert pointed out that Rhodopaios, apostrophized as πατέρ in an epigram published by him (*Hellenica* IV 127ff), was probably πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. Late fifth or sixth century.

(4) Flavius Athenaeus, in our new inscription.

(5) For another πατήρ τῆς πόλεως from Aphrodisias, Aristocrates, see below, p.182.

MILETUS

(1) *IGC* 219 (datable to 538): dates the building of a gate by regnal year, consulate, the governor, the bishop and πατερεύοντος Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπρο(στάτου) κόμ(ητος).

SMYRNA

(1) *Anth.Pal.* 9.615 (cited by L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV 131) is apparently taken from an inscription, with the lemma εἰς λουτρὸν ἐν Σμύρῃ; the text is uncertain, but it appears to refer to a Theodore ὃς γὰρ ἐὼν πόλιος κτεάνων ταμίης τε πατήρ τε restored the baths. Probably sixth century, perhaps even by Agathias—see *Hellenica* IV 132 n.3.

(2) Agathias (*Anth.Pal.* 9.662, with *Hellenica* IV 132; A. and A. Cameron, *JHS* 86 [1966] 9–10, believe that this is the poet himself; P. Maas, *ByzNeugrJb* 3 [1922] 163–64, had his doubts) πατήρ . . . πόλῃος repairs the public lavatories at Smyrna. Sixth century.

ATTALIA

(1) *IGC* 307: [ἐ]πὶ . . . an anonymous [c]χο(λαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) πατ[ρός . . .]; the context is not clear. Sixth century—Grégoire.

(2) *IGC* 309: ἐπὶ (the governor and) Ἱεροδόξου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) πατρός, referring to the facing (πλάκῳς) of a gate. Fifth–sixth century—Grégoire.

SIDE

(1) G. E. Bean, *Die Agora von Side . . . Ausgrabungen im Jahre 1948* (Ankara 1957) 95 no.70, as emended by L. Robert, *RevPhil* 32 (1958) 47ff: ἐπὶ Θεο[δ]ώρου τοῦ [λαμπρο]τάτου κ[όμ]ητος καὶ πατρός, referring to the renewal of a mosaic.

(2) G. E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side* (Ankara 1965) no.87, with *BullEp* 1965, 419: ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν ιδίων χρημάτων διὰ Φρόντωνος κόμ(ητος) ἀπὸ ἀνθυπά(των) κ(αὶ) πατρ(ός) τοὺς ὑποκάτω τοῦ τίτλου πέσσους καὶ ἀψίδας ἐπεσκεύαζεν. Fifth–sixth century.

TARSUS

(1) *CIG* 4438 (unhelpfully reedited by G. Laminger-Pascher, *ΖΡΕ* 15 [1974] 32–33): ἐγένετο ἡ ὁδοστρωσία ἐπὶ Παλ[λ]αδ[ί]ου τοῦ ἐλλογιμ(ωτάτου) cχο(λαστικοῦ) καὶ πατρός.

(2) G. Laminger-Pascher (*op.cit.* 35, from R. Heberdey's notes): ἐπὶ Φλ(αβίου) Ἰωάννου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) καὶ περιβλ(έπτου) κόμ(ητος) καὶ ἄρχοντος ἡμῶν κ(αὶ) Ζήνωνος τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) κόμ(ητος) κ(αὶ) πατρός τὸ πᾶν ἔργον γέγονεν ἐν χρό(νῳ) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'. The reference to the *comes Isauriae* as περιβλεπτος, particularly with the reinforcement of μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, ought to put this inscription well after Justinian's *Novel xxvii De Comite Isauriae* (535), although it is not impossible that these titles were already being usurped by the *comes*; Laminger-Pascher's proposed fourth-century date for both these inscriptions is unacceptable.¹¹

(3) A. E. Raubitschek, in H. Goldman (ed.), *Excavations at Güzlü Kule, Tarsus I* (Princeton 1950) 384 no.8, with pl.258; reproduced, but with a question mark, in *Bullep* 1951, no.223. I would prefer to see this not as a fourth-century tombstone, [(cross) τόπος τοῦ μεγα]λοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμητο[ς Ἀσίας καὶ ῥήτο]ρος Μουσούνιου [...c.10]ίου τοῦ περιβλ(έπτου) [...c.10] κέ Κοσμᾶ τοῦ [...c.10]ιαρίου καὶ [...c.10] περιβλ(έπτου) τρι(ι)β [...c.10]ΤΝΣΟΝΤΟΣ [...c.10]ζοτέρου [...c.10]ΙΟΥ (cross)—so Raubitschek—, but as a building inscription: [(cross) ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγα]λοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμητο[ς cχο(λαστικοῦ) καὶ πατ]ρός Μουσούνιου, κ.τ.λ. If this restoration is correct, we should assume a late-fifth or sixth-century date (which would accord well with the letter forms) in view of the debased titulature; for another μεγαλοπρ(επέστατος) πατήρ, see below. The other people listed must then be private contributors to the building.

ELAEUSSA (CILICIA TRACHAEA)

(1) Bent and Hicks, *JHS* 12 (1891) 259 no.32; (*cf.* R. Heberdey, *DenkschrWien* 44 [1896] 50); Laminger-Pascher, from Heberdey's notes, *op.cit.* 67: ἐπὶ Ἰμου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμ(ητος) πατρός, on an aqueduct supplying Elaeussa-Sebaste. Laminger-Pascher reads Ἰλλου, which from the facsimile looks possible; but L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 196, suggests that Ἰμου could be from Ἰμας, a widespread name. In any case, Laminger-Pascher's identification with the famous general Illus is very improbable. Late fifth or sixth century.

CAESAREA (PALESTINE)

(1) B. Lifschitz, *RBibl* 68 (1961) 122 no.15, *cf.* *Bullep* 1962, 315: Φλ(άβιος) Στρατήγιος περιβλ(επτος) πατήρ καὶ πρωτε(ύων) τὴν ἀψίδα cὺν τῷ τοίχῳ καὶ τῇ ἀναβάθρᾳ ἀπὸ πολιτικῶν. Datable (by the titles of the governor) after 536.

(2) B. Lifschitz, *op.cit.* 122–23, with n.51 for earlier bibliography: ἐπὶ (the governor and) Ἡλίου λαμπρο(τάτου) πατρός τῆς πόλεως, concerning the

¹¹ For the abbreviation ἐν χρρ, which puzzled Laminger-Pascher, see *SEG* VIII 34 and 35, whence M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions* (*QDAP* IX Suppl., London 1940) 113.

building or repairing of a basilica; datable (by the same arguments) before 536.

PALESTINE (location uncertain)

(1) B. Lifschitz (translating M. Schwabe), *RBibl* 70 (1963) 255 no.1 (*SEG* XX 482), *cf. BullEp* 1964, 501: καὶ ταύτην τὴν τῆς τ(ῶν) ὑδάτων μεχανῆς ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) πατήρ Ἰλαρίων ἐφεῦρεν ἀρετήν.

SEPPHORIS (?)

(1) B. Lifschitz, *ZDPV* 79 (1963) 94–95 (*SEG* XX 416, *cf. BullEp* 1964, 512) reediting *SEG* VIII 15, a private inscription on a lintel, conjectures a πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. But the private character of this inscription and the difficulties at several points make this very uncertain.

JERUSALEM (?)

(1) *CIG* 9140, from a dubious copy by Bailie (on whose unreliability see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII 152–53), apparently refers to the daughter of ...]νος ἐλλογιμο[τά]του πατρὸς[...]

PERINTHUS (THRACE)

(1) E. Kalinka, *Jahreshefte* 23 (1926) *Beiblatt* 192 no.148, emended by L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV 130 n.6; *cf. also* A. P. Christophilopoulos, in *Ἐράνιον πρὸς Γεώργιον Σ. Μαριδάκην* I (Athens 1963) 3–4 (*cf. BullEp* 1965, 243), and M. Vickers, *CR* 22 (1972) 175 (*cf. BullEp* 1972, 286): [ἐπὶ] Λέωντος τοῦ [?] ἐλλ(ογιμωτάτου) cχo(λαστικοῦ)] καὶ πατρ(ὸς) πόλ[εως...].

GORTYNA (CRETE)

(1) M. Guarducci, *I.Creticae* IV 461; A. C. Bandy, *Christian Inscriptions of Crete* (Athens 1971) 32: ἐπὶ Βιγιλίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κερνιαρίου καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πό(λεως), referring to the restoration of a pavement and (?) a church (a cistern, Bandy). The only copy of this inscription (A. Lollini, in *cod. Vat.gr.* 1759 fol.135^r) is very unsure.

The pattern that emerges from this list is, first, that almost all the inscriptions are associated with public works, and secondly, that certain cities produce clusters of *πατέρες* while others, with abundant evidence of public works dating from this period (*e.g.*, Gerasa and Syria in general), produce no mention of such an official.¹²

As to the references in the legislation, these also follow an interesting pattern. By far the majority of these passages speak of *πατέρες* and/or some other kind of official. Thus:

¹² There are also mentions in papyri: see, *e.g.*, C. Wessely, *StudPal* III (Leipzig 1904) nos. 67 (7th cent., Heracleopolis) and 176 (6th cent., Arsinoe); these, unhelpfully, are simply descriptions of individuals.

Cod. Just. 10.27.2.12 (Anastasius, on the organization of corn levies): *καὶ οἱ πατέρες τῶν πόλεων καὶ πᾶς ἕτερος τῆς συνωνῆς προνοούμενος.*

Cod. Just. 1.5.12.7 (487 or 510): *τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς αἵρετικούς οὔτε ἐκδίκου οὔτε πόλεως πατρὸς μετιέναι φροντίδα συγχωροῦμεν.*

Cod. Just. 8.51.3.3 (529): concerning the protection of rights of abandoned children, entrusted to governors and *episcopis nec non officiis praesidalibus et patribus et defensoribus civitatum et omni civili auxilio.*

Cod. Just. 3.43.1.1 (529): concerning laws about dicing to be enforced *a patribus seu defensoribus locorum* (cf. *Cod. Just.* 1.4.25).

Cod. Just. 12.63.2.6 (530): the responsibility for not giving more than a stated amount to requisitions by governors is urged: *οὐ χρὴ δὲ οὔτε τοὺς πατέρας οὔτε τοὺς σιτώνας . . . παρέχειν.*

Just. Nov. 75.2 (537): concerned with the ratification of local legislation in Sicily—*id est pro defensoribus vel patribus civitatum decretum.*

Just. Nov. 85.3.1 (539): responsibility for the control of private arms manufacture belongs to governors, their *officia*, *καὶ τῶν τὰς πόλεις ἐκδικούντων καὶ πατέρων.*

The implication of such phrases would seem to be that not every city had a *πατήρ*.

Against this background, it is useful to look at the laws which mention *πατέρες* more specifically. The earliest reference (after the law of Leo quoted above) is *Cod. Just.* 8.12 (Zeno, 485/6) which forbids central government officials from interfering with public works which are undertaken from *civiles redditus*—the cities' own income—and which are the concern of *patribus civitatum*.

Cod. Just. 11.33.2 is a law of Constantine (314) dealing with the regulation of debts by a private individual to a city. In the Theodosian Code (12.11.1) this money is to be invested *periculo curatoris kalendarii*, but in the Justinianic Code this is emended to *cura patris civitatis*.

Cod. Just. 1.4.26 (530) is also concerned with *πολιτικαὶ πρόσοδοι*; the care of the land owned by the city (*πολιτικὸν ἢ δημόσιον*) is the responsibility of *τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν τε πατέρα τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἐν ὑπολήψει κτήτορας* (9). Decisions about the reliability of a surety are to be reached by *τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν τε πατέρα τὸν τε ἐκδικὸν τῆς πόλεως* (12).

Just. Nov. xvii (535) contains the *mandata* to be given to provincial

governors, setting out their duties. Chapter 4 is concerned with the governor's conduct *vis-à-vis* central government envoys on special missions—it instances the construction of waterworks, roads, bridges, walls, etc. as the object of such missions. The governor is instructed not to allow such officials to oppress his subjects, and to check their credentials; the passage continues, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀφθονίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμελήσῃ, παρασκευάζων ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων αὐτοὺς ἅτε πατέρας τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα τῶν ἔργων ποιεῖν καὶ γεφυρῶν ὁμοίως καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ λιμένων... καὶ τειχῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (Lat. *procurans ex civilibus pecuniis patres quae valde necessaria sunt operum facere*, etc.). This very compressed passage has been found difficult by others, as the manuscript variants show. The editors took the reference to *patres* to mean *πατέρες τῶν πόλεων*.¹³ But this requires rather an abrupt change of subject matter from the envoys, with whom the preceding sentences are concerned, to local officials; the remainder of the chapter discusses the governor's relations with soldiers (also the representatives of central government) in his province. It seems preferable to take ἅτε πατέρας as a rhetorical embellishment, characterizing the behaviour to be desired from the government envoys.¹⁴ The point of the sentence is that the envoys should use the existing resources of a city, rather than make a special requisition (ζημιῶν, above). If this interpretation is correct, we presumably need to assume *ut* before *patres* in the Latin text. If, however, the sense of the passage is that the governor should appoint *πατέρες* to obviate the need for such envoys, we should omit the αὐτοὺς ἅτε of the Greek text; but this correction is more violent and therefore less attractive.

Just. Nov. 128.16 (545) is concerned with protecting the funds of cities from taxation. Neither tax collectors (ἀπαιτηταί) nor local land owners (κτήτορες) nor the governor nor his *officium* are to interfere with this money; ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκάστης πόλεως ὀσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῆς πόλεως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῆς κτήτορας προβάλλεσθαι μὲν τὸν πατέρα τὸν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸν ciτώνην καὶ ἄλλους τοιούτους διοικητάς. Such officials are to present yearly accounts.

¹³ Justinian, *Novellae*, ed. R. Schöll and W. Kroll (Berlin 1895) 120; so also R. Ganghoffer, *L'évolution des institutions municipales en Occident et en Orient au Bas Empire* (Paris 1963) 161.

¹⁴ For such embellishments, compare ch.1, where the governor is urged καθαράς φυλάττειν...τὰς χεῖρας: for this standard rhetorical cliché applied to governors, see Robert, *Hellenica* IV 38–39, and I. Ševčenko in A. Grabar, *Synthronon* (Paris 1968) 35.

For an example of this system in practice, we return to Aphrodisias; Just. *Nov.* CLX (not datable) was written in response to an appeal from Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ ἐλλογιμώτατος πατήρ τῆς Ἀφροδισιέων πόλεως, καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν κεκτημένοι, over the management of the large legacies (χρυσίον κυχνόν) which had been left to the city, the income from which had been endangered by Justinian's laws restricting the liabilities of debtors (*Nov.* cxxxviii, before 535). It is clear that at Aphrodisias a tradition of public benefactions by individuals continued to a late date. This may have been partly inspired by the continuance of pagan traditions (e.g., the elder Asclepiodotus, for whom see *Hellenica* IV 115–26; I hope to publish soon fresh evidence of public benefactors in this circle); but the generous Hermias was a Christian, as was Rhodopaios.¹⁵ It does not appear to be paralleled to quite such an extent elsewhere at this period, however.

Finally, the earliest reference to a πατήρ would appear to be in a letter of Nilus of Ancyra (*Ep.* 2.36) addressed to Δημοσθέει πατρὶ πόλεως and presumably written before ca 430. But Alan Cameron has recently demonstrated that the headings of these letters are largely the work of a sixth-century editor, and in view of our other evidence, this reference should probably be added to the list of anachronisms collected by Cameron.¹⁶

There is, therefore, no reliable evidence to date the use of the title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως before the middle of the fifth century, although this situation largely reflects the general difficulties in dating late imperial inscriptions. It may well be that further work in this field will allow us to be more precise and perhaps to give an earlier date to some occurrences of the title; for the moment, its absence from the Theodosian Code is the most substantial indication of date that we can adduce.¹⁷ From the middle of the fifth century and throughout the sixth, the πατήρ τῆς πόλεως appears to be a civic official in charge

¹⁵ For Hermias see *IGC* 277, with Robert, *Hellenica* IV 130. For the three inscriptions honouring Rhodopaios, see *Hellenica* IV 127–29. Reexamination of the stone published by Reinach (*REG* 19 [1906] 142 no.75) shows a well-cut cross below the inscription.

¹⁶ *GRBS* 17 (1976) 181–96. For a similar anachronism see the πατήρ πόλεως named as a persecutor in the time of Decius at Magydos in Pamphylia, in the *Martyrium of Conon* 2 (R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*³ [Tübingen 1929] 64), apparently a composition of late antiquity (cf. A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*² II.2 [Leipzig 1958] 469–70).

¹⁷ R. Ganghoffer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.13) 161 n.31, claims “le pater apparaît en Egypte dès le IV^e siècle,” referring to L. Harmand, *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques* (Paris 1949) 428; but Harmand only cites references for the term πάτρων.

of the civic revenues (τὰ ἴδια χρήματα, Side 2; τὰ πολιτικά, Caesarea 1; the *civiles reditus* [*Cod. Just.* 8.12] or πολιτικαὶ πρόοδοι [*Cod. Just.* 1.4.26]). Other subsidiary duties—supervising gaming (*Cod. Just.* 3.43) and protecting the rights of children (*Cod. Just.* 8.51)—were probably assigned to him simply out of administrative convenience. Buildings erected from these revenues are dated by the πατήρ; perhaps when they are also dated by the governor (*e.g.*, Miletus 1, Attalia 2, Caesarea 2), this indicates more than one source for the money (and, if my interpretation of Tarsus 3 is correct, private citizens can also be involved). He is indeed well described as πόλιος κτεάνων ταμίης τε πατήρ τε (Smyrna 1). These functions have been known for some time.¹⁸

Jones proceeds to equate the πατήρ with the *curator*, an office descended from the earlier λογιστής, and to attribute a πατήρ to every city.¹⁹ But the pattern that emerges from the inscriptional evidence—where πατέρες seem to turn up in clusters, at particular cities—seems to me to be reinforced by the tone of the legal evidence, where the πατήρ is so often referred to as one alternative in a list of officials. Modern understanding can be too easily influenced by the legislators, especially Justinian, who undoubtedly wanted to create a neat and uniform system of administration; but the reality was often different. I very much doubt whether every city had a πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. The office of ἑκδικος seems to have been more widespread—but then the functions of a *defensor* were more widely needed. It is not clear to me that a πατήρ would be required in a city whose revenues were merely those set aside for them from the imperial revenues (Jones, *LRE* 733–34); such an arrangement was probably very largely a fiction in any case. I suspect that the πατήρ τῆς πόλεως, as opposed, perhaps, to other officials with somewhat similar functions, will be found only in cities with a substantial income from possessions of their own—of which we know Aphrodisias to be one.

¹⁸ See for example Waddington *ad* Le Bas-Waddington no.594; E. Hanton, *Byzantion* 4 (1927/28) 114; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford 1940) 250; *LRE* 726.

¹⁹ Jones, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.18) 209; *LRE* 726 and n.30, 759 and n.104. This assumption creates some difficulties: *cf. e.g.*, E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas Empire* II (Paris 1959) 212 n.1. R. Ganghoffer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.13), devotes a section (170–72) to “Rapports du ‘defensor civitatis’ avec le ‘curator reipublicae’,” whom he too equates with the πατήρ. D. Claude found too many obstacles to the coexistence of the πατήρ and the *defensor* and concluded, “Eine Stadt besass demnach einen defensor oder einen pater civitatis”: *Die byzantinische Stadt* (Munich 1969) 115.

This money will have come from loan income (so *Cod. Just.* 11.33.2, and *Just. Nov.* CLX) and from the cities' own land (*Cod. Just.* 4.26), and the management of both of these is specifically entrusted to the *πατέρες*. Alternatively, it could be suggested that a *πατήρ* was always appointed but that in cities without their own wealth he was insignificant.²⁰ This latter suggestion cannot be disproved; but it is based on an assumption of a uniformity of civic administration which seems to me improbable.

The overall history of the cities of the later Roman empire is of a constant struggle by the central government to keep them solvent and functioning, with diminishing success.²¹ The rate of decline, however, varied dramatically from city to city. I believe that it is necessary to reexamine the evidence on a geographical basis and to explore the diversities over time and over space which have made it possible to propose two contrary 'models' for the provincial life of the period: either one of flourishing municipal communities or one of irresistible municipal decline.²² The truth (not surprisingly) is likely to be far more complex.

In my own view, the appearance of the title *πατήρ τῆς πόλεως* at a particular city, especially if it appears more than once (*e.g.*, at Attalia, Side, Tarsus, Smyrna, Caesarea and, above all, Aphrodisias) indicates that that city enjoyed in the later fifth and sixth centuries a considerable measure of independent, secular prosperity, as opposed to depending on the generosity of governors or of a well-endowed church.²³ The balance between the two sources of funds is well illustrated at Aphrodisias. There, the governor's generosity was still a matter of importance, which was acknowledged and encouraged, in the case of Palmatus, by two statues. One was erected by the provincial assembly with money to which Aphrodisias presumably contributed. The other, however, was put up by Flavius Athenaeus, either from his own money (demonstrating a still lively tradition of

²⁰ Thus perhaps the *πατέρες* found witnessing documents (*supra* n.12) were of little importance, and the *pater civitatis* at Mopsuestia in 550 (Mansi IX 278 and 285, cited by Jones, *LRE* 760).

²¹ Jones, *LRE* 732–34, 757ff.

²² See the discussion of Ševčenko, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 38.

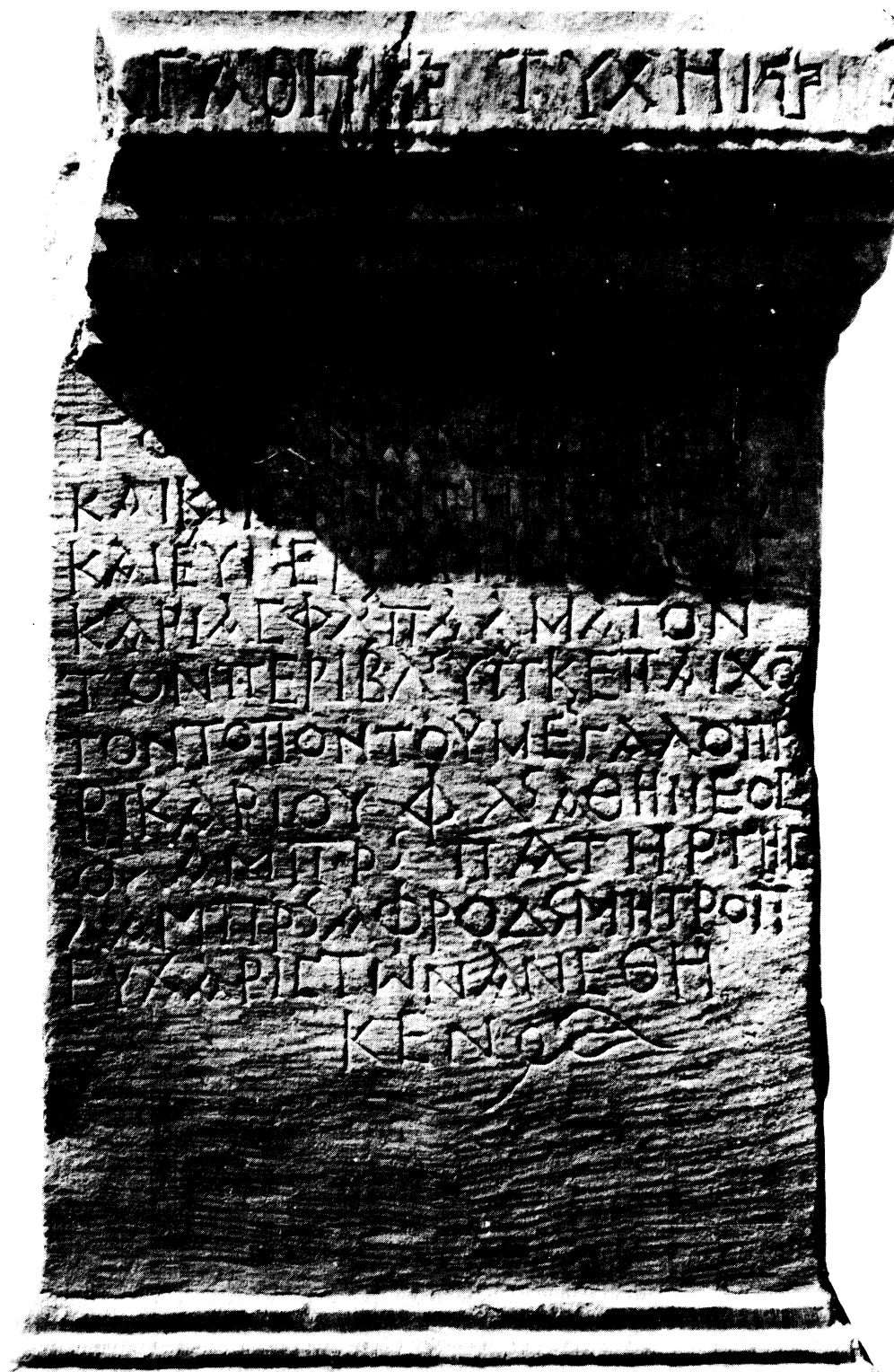
²³ It is particularly striking that, of these cities, Aphrodisias, Caesarea, Side and Tarsus were all metropolises, and as such particularly liable to central government benefactions. But the evidence from Aphrodisias suggests that the presence of the governor and his *officium* in the city contributed to the continuing prosperity of the local ruling class.

private munificence) or, as I believe, from the substantial city funds which he administered as ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) πατήρ τῆς λαμπρ(οτάτης) Ἀφροδ(εισιέων) μητροπό(λεως); similarly, the work referred to as being done by the πατήρ in Smyrna 1 and 2 and Palestine 1 is probably work carried out in his official capacity from public money, even though this is not specifically mentioned, as it is in Caesarea 1. From the evidence of Justinian's *Novel* CLX (cited above, p.182) it is clear that these funds still gave the city a fair measure of fiscal independence and self-esteem well into the sixth century.²⁴

KUWAIT

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²⁴ I am grateful to Professor and Madame Louis Robert, Dr J. R. Martindale and Miss J. M. Reynolds for generously giving their guidance and encouragement in the preparation of this article, and to Professor Kenan Erim, whose energy has made available so much new material which he has kindly allowed me to publish. I thank also the editors of *GRBS* for constructive advice.



DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION ON STATUE BASE AT APHRODISIAS